ATATÜRK

AND THE TRUE NATURE OF MODERN TURKEY

By

GÉRARD TONGAS

Diplômé de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes de la Sorbonne
Sciences Historiques et Philologiques

Translated from the French
by
MAJOR F. F. RYND

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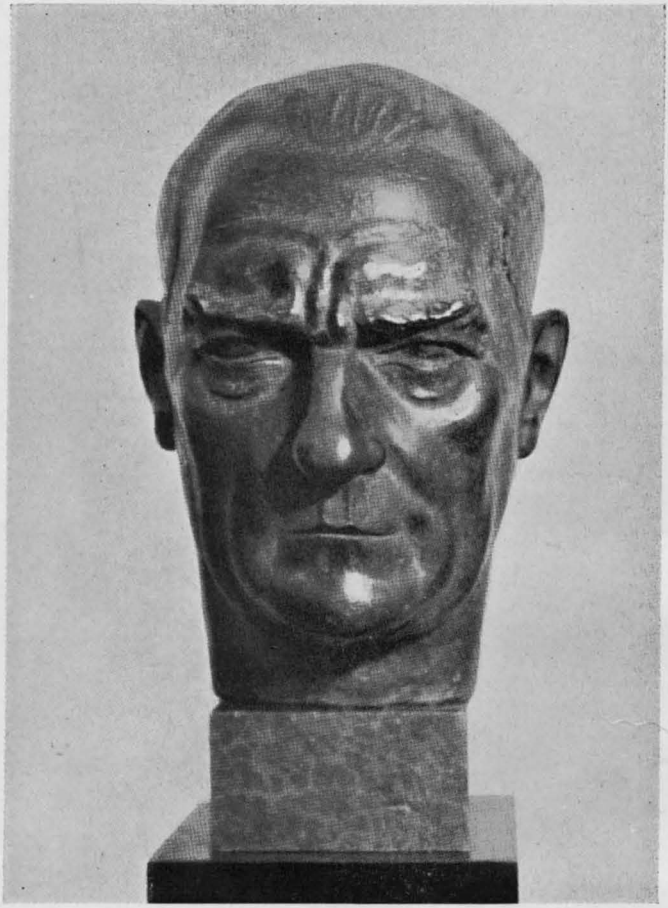

Frontispiece

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Note.—The French edition of this work appeared before the death of Atatürk. This has necessitated a few alterations in the original text.

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A mon très cher ami Enver Ziya Karal, professeur d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine à l'Université d'Istanbul, qui m'a appris à connaître et à aimer son pays, je dédie ce livre en témoignage d'amicale reconnaissance.

GÉRARD TONGAS.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE recent agreement between Turkey and Great Britain for mutual defence should stress the need for a better understanding of recent events in that country among the English people. Though written primarily for French readers there is little in this book which is not of general interest. Moreover what concerns our French Allies should also concern ourselves. This little work gives in a condensed form the results achieved by the Turkish Revolution in the immediate past and discusses the plans for the further development of Turkey in the future.

Monsieur Gérard Tongas, the author, has for many years been a close student of Turkish affairs. Whilst a scholar at the " Faculté des Lettres de Lyon " he came into close association with many young Turkish students. Through them, and as a result of his own studies, he decided to visit their country. Whilst in Turkey he lived exclusively with the people, shared their family life and interests and by travelling extensively in the country, came to know the leading personalities in all walks of life. His knowledge of Turkish affairs appeared so intimate that Kamâl Atatürk himself remarked : " This Frenchman is the only Occidental who has understood and judged us ; he knows us better than we know ourselves."

In his first chapter the author deplores the ignorance of his countrymen regarding Turkey and the prejudiced

views they entertain about the Turkish people. This complaint may well find an echo in this country !

Chapter V contains an interesting resumé of Turkish relations with Foreign Powers. While determined once for all to rid his country from interference by the Great Powers in its internal affairs, the late Kamâl Atatürk was ready to enter into friendly agreements with them. In striking contrast with the bellicose words and actions of the Dictators of Germany and Italy he threatened no State and worked only for pacific relations. It is a signal proof, too, of the statesmanship of this remarkable man that while maintaining an attitude of independence he did not hesitate to seek the assistance of the Western Powers for the peaceful development of Turkey. From this work of reconstruction Great Britain long held aloof —a mistaken policy both from the economic and political point of view. There was a welcome departure from this attitude, however, when the laying down of an iron and steel plant at Karabuk was entrusted to a British firm in 1937. Since then this country has granted Turkey a credit of 16 million pounds for industrial development and British experts will assist in working the mining resources of that nation. While lamenting the small part France has played in these activities the author hopes she will now recover some of the paramount influence she has exercised in Turkey in the past.

Modern Turks present an unusual phenomenon— an Oriental nation looking to the Occident for help in the regeneration of their country.

F. F. RYND.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Why we ought to Understand and be Friendly with Turkey - -	11
II.	Kamâl Atatürk :	
	1. His Biography - - - -	16
	2. The Kemalist Philosophy - -	24
III.	Ankara, Symbol of the Turkish Renovation - - - - -	28
IV.	The Problem of Water and the Future of Turkey - - -	31
V.	The Planned Political Development of Turkey - - - - -	36
VI.	The Institute of the Revolution -	53
VII.	Turkey an Arable and Stock-Breeding Country - - - -	57
VIII.	The Industrialization of Turkey -	64
IX.	Franco-Turkish Economic Relations	70
X.	Conclusion - - - - -	74
XI.	Historical Chronology of the Turkey of Atatürk - - -	75

I

Why we ought to understand and be friendly with Turkey

MUCH ignorance prevails in France on the subject of Turkey ; we have only vague ideas and deeply seated prejudices regarding this country, as I have frequently had occasion to remark. We know, vaguely, the geographical position of this part of the ancient Ottoman Empire. Many people, again, while well aware that Turkey exists in Asia Minor, are quite ignorant of the fact that the ancestors of the Turks founded in that country one of the most ancient civilizations of the world, that of the Hittites. Many again, and this is the most serious point, are far from suspecting that the prestige of France, which used to be so great in the Levant, is being gradually extinguished, though Turkey would willingly accept French influence in accomplishing a revolution which is without example in history.

Now, instead of interesting themselves in this grand achievement of the Turks the French continue to regard them with prejudice. The very name " Turk " arouses in their imagination a picture of barbarism, destruction, persecution, distress and horror. These are the im-

pressions left by their rapid and partial study of History, which evokes only a feeling of hatred for the Turks, these descendants of the Pillaging Huns, these infidels who, but for the glorious intervention of the Crusades, would have destroyed Europe.

What a grave error lies in this misconception! How unfortunate it is that History, whose principal role is to teach us that each people has its own native genius, its good qualities and defects, its periods of glory and decadence, its periods of civilization and barbarism, and in a word to make us appreciate the qualities of other people and help towards a general reunion, should sometimes be so falsely interpreted! For it is indeed a false interpretation arising from a partial and superficial study. To convince us of this it is only necessary to take up the study of this History again and to examine it with care and without prejudice. One will then discover the truth, that barbarism was not confined to the Turks' ancestors, but that our ancestors were also barbarous like those of the Greeks and Romans. Also, at the time of the great Crusades the Christians committed as many crimes as the Muslims. Moreover, if there have been brilliant civilizations such as the Egyptian, the Greek and the Roman, there was another, unrecognized till to-day but not less worthy of interest, since it was the origin of them all, i.e., that which recent discoveries—they only date from 1938—have revealed to us—the civilization of the Hittites, ancestors of the Turks.

Why do we persist in not viewing the Turks as they

really are? Such, for instance, as Elisée Reclus pictures them in his *Universal Geography :*

> " The Turk who has not been corrupted by power, whom oppression has not degraded, possesses many attractive qualities. He never deceives : being honest and truthful he is held in derision or pity by his neighbours, the Greek, the Syrian, the Persian, the Armenian. Holding his goods for the common benefit, he gives willingly but demands nothing. Whatever one may say, the abuse of ' bakshish ' is much greater in Europe than it is in the East, except in those towns where the Levantines are numerous. Is there a traveller, however proud and distrustful, who has not been touched by the cordial reception of the village Turk? Immediately he perceives him, the head of the family goes to help him dismount, salutes him with a smile, and with a charming gesture stretches in the place of honour his most valuable rug and invites him to repose, while he cheerfully prepares the repast."

Why have we forgotten that it was through Turkey that France played a predominant role in the Levant for several centuries? The amicable relations between our two countries were born in the alliance between François 1st with Suleiman, designed to save France from a German invasion. Since then Franco-Turkish friendship did not cease to grow stronger in spite of all vicissitudes. In 1630, when French influence was at its height in the Levant, the French Ambassador at Constantinople was a veritable vice-Emperor of the Orient, the Grand Vizier of the Christians. Better

informed than the Sultan himself, thanks to the Consulates established at all points of the Empire, he caused the prestige of France to spread throughout the Near East. The monopoly of commerce was entirely in his hands : the English, the Dutch, the Germans, the Spaniards and the Italians were only able to trade under his flag.

And if, in spite of all, the prestige of France is still very great in Turkey, it is owing to this long and profound penetration.

The influence of France on the civilization of this country is centuries old : the Turks are therefore naturally friendly towards us. They are disappointed to see that we do not respond. Thus, whilst France, centre of all the great revolutions, soul of all the great movements of humanity, neglects to help its old friend in a capital and decisive moment of its History, Germany, the U.S.S.R. and England are displacing us little by little. The University, the banks, the public works are in great part organized by the Germans. The whole industrialization of the country is carried out under the direction of Soviet engineers. On their part the English invest large capital sums in Turkey. Meanwhile the French content themselves with saying : " Everyone speaks French in Pera " ! That is true and is irrefragible proof of our ancient influence ; but that is not sufficient and, besides, the heart of Turkey is no longer there : if France continues to be indifferent to Turkey while that country is engaged on its work of renovation, it will not be long before Franco-Turkish amity dis-

appears. The Turks, in detaching themselves from an unfaithful friend, will be led to make others who are more steadfast and to whom they will be attached by stronger ties. Our indifference not only displays a lack of courage, it is also a grave mistake ; it constitutes a great danger for us. Turkey has a great future, she will soon become a powerful nation with whom it will be necessary to reckon. It is perhaps, then, advisable to be one of her friends. Turkey in her throes has given a profound lesson to Europe : when she is flourishing she may provide a more formidable one.

To consolidate Franco-Turkish amity, and to make it truly efficacious it must be more than a mere tradition ; it must be transformed into a practical reality by political, economic and spiritual action common to the two great democracies of France and Turkey. Let us then learn to know and appreciate this nation as it understands and appreciates us.

II

Kamâl Atatürk

1. his biography

WE do not propose to write in a few lines the complete biography of this man, whose extraordinary career would furnish enough matter for a huge volume. Besides, all the works which have been written on contemporary Turkey have treated this subject at length ; we therefore propose to give here only the main events of his life. Atatürk was one of an old Turkish family and was born in Salonika in 1880. His mother, Zubeida, was more than 30 years old when he first saw the light ; it is from her he inherited his blue eyes, his dominating and obstinate nature and his subtle mind. His father, Ali Riza, was at one time in the Customs and carried on a small business as wood merchant. Now, in the midst of this peaceful household, living modestly in a comfortable home surrounded by beautiful gardens called " Islahane Jaddesi," was reflected the struggle between old and modern ideas which was ultimately to undermine the base of the Ottoman Empire. Whilst Zubeida, profoundly religious, remained faithful to the laws of Islam, Ali Riza was inclined to more liberal

ANKARA: A GARDEN

[*To face p.* 16

ideas. This divergence of view between the mother and father profoundly influenced the mind of the young Mustafa, who was destined himself to settle finally the conflict arising from these diverse ideologies.

When he was seven years old and it became necessary to send him to school his parents found it difficult to agree as to the one to be selected. Atatürk himself had a vivid recollection of these disagreements which he records thus :

" A single fact remains in the memory of my early childhood, but I recollect it very clearly. It was concerned with my going to school, a matter about which my parents had a difference of opinion. My mother remained attached to the old customs ; a religious sentiment, tranquil and gentle, but resolute, was at the base of her nature. Thus she wanted to place me in one of those schools directed by a Hodja, where the instruction was in accord with the severe traditions of Islam. She held this view particularly, I think, because the entry into one of these schools was attended by a religious solemnity. This day was to be distinguished from others by an especial consecration through which the child was made aware he now belonged to the community of Believers and was bound by its precepts.

" My father, on the other hand was a Liberal, was rather hostile to religion and was a strong partisan of Western ideas. He would rather I went to a non-religious school where the instruction was based not on the Coran but on modern science.

" My father brought this conflict of convictions to an end by a little manœuvre. Pretending to yield to my mother's desires he agreed I should be placed

in the school ' Fatma Molla Kadine ' with the usual ceremonies.

" On the morning of my entrance my mother adorned me in a white robe and a gold ribbon which she rolled round my head in the form of a turban ; in my hand I held a golden bough. Then the master, a Hodja, followed by all his pupils, presented himself at our door clothed in green ; a prayer was recited, then, placing the end of my fingers on my breast and forehead, I bowed to my parents and the master, and kissed the hands of each. Then, amid cries of joy from my comrades we traversed the streets of the town towards the school situated near a mosque. Arrived there, after another prayer, the master took me by the hand and led me to a bare and vaulted room, where they were going to reveal to me the sacred spheres of the Coran.

" About six months later my father withdrew me from the school ' Fatma Molla Kadine ' and took me to old Chemsi Effendi who conducted his school on European lines. My mother made no objection, being sure they were yielding to her wishes and convictions. The ceremony above all was dear to her heart."

However, Ali Riza died soon after, and the young Mustafa was obliged to leave the school and go to his mother, who installed herself with her brother, a farmer at Lazaran, near to Salonika. Mustafa, adapting himself rapidly to his new life, was employed in cleaning out the stables, looking after the animals and guarding the sheep and geese. This rough work and the fresh air hardened his physique and he became attached to the

peasants who later on took a prominent part in the struggle for the independence of Turkey.

It was then that occurred the event that was to open definitely the triumphal road which the young Mustafa was to traverse so resolutely. His mother returned to Salonika and decided to let him continue his studies. He pressed strongly to be allowed to prepare for a soldier's career. At twelve years of age he attended the day school at Salonika and for four years he distinguished himself by his exceptional intelligence. Then, passing with success the most severe exams, he spent three years at the Cadet school of Monastir, three years at the Harbiych Staff school in Istanbul and then, two years after, he was given the rank of Captain. Henceforth he passed through all the grades of the military hierarchy rapidly, impressing all by his powerful brain and diverse capacities.

In 1910, that is at 30 years of age, he accompanied General Ali Riza to Paris as a Staff Officer. He followed with deep interest the grand manœuvres of the French army in the North. Returning to Salonika he was given the double command of the Officers' school and the 38th Regiment.

It was not long before he gave practical proof of his military skill. In October, 1911, Italy disembarked troops at Tripoli and attempted to capture the town with a view to taking this old Turkish Province. Mustafa Kemal, commanding the Turkish sector of Derna, carried out some decisive assaults on the Italian lines. Then the World War gave him the opportunity to prove

his worth as a great commander. On the 25th April, 1915, the Allies, with the object of taking the Turks in reverse and opening the way to Constantinople, attempted to disembark *en masse* at Ari-Burnu, in the bay of Suvla, unknown to the Turkish General Staff. Lieut.-Colonel Mustafa Kemal, whose troops occupied the zone, took upon himself to take the offensive and, on his own initiative, broke the force of the Allied attack. Then, on the 9th August, he fought victoriously at Anafarta, paralysed the action of the Allies and won the admiration of all as the Hero of the Dardanelles tragedy.

It is important to note that Mustafa Kemal, while pursuing successfully his military career, was taking all the time an active interest in the political situation of his country. He frequented the revolutionary centres in Salonika, Monastir and Constantinople. He thus drew upon himself the attention of the authorities. He was arrested by order of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, and appeared before a tribunal in Yildiz Palace.

In view of the judgment against him and in order to remove him from political influences he was sent to Damascus where he arrived in time for an expedition against the Druses. During this time the political situation became more acute and the Young Turks became more clamorous. Without permission and in disguise, Mustafa Kemal returned to Salonika where he founded a branch of the secret society known as " Country and Liberty " which he had formed in Smyrna.

After a further period spent in Syria he managed to get posted to Salonika which he intended to make the

centre of the Revolution. His partisans forced a constitution on the Sultan. Then the secret society " Country and Liberty " became official. It influenced the Sultan in the midst of many vicissitudes and assumed the name of the " Committee of Union and Progress."

But in 1910 Mustafa Kemal broke off relations with the other heads of the Committee with the intention of striving by himself to make Turkey liberal and modern and completely independent.

At the end of the World War, England, wishing to profit by the occupation of the strategic points of Asia Minor by the Allies, in order to extend her influence in the Near East, conceived the idea of establishing a Greek Empire on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire.

In consequence, the 15th May, 1919, the Greeks landed at Smyrna and trouble broke out immediately among the Greek colonies in Constantinople, Trebizond and Samsun. It was then that Mustafa Kemal realized that the Ottoman Empire had ceased to exist but that there was still time to save what remained, which would constitute the real heritage of the Turks, and form the nucleous of a State exclusively Turk. He determined then to seize Anatolia from the invading Greeks who were encouraged by the help of the English and the indifference of the French and Italians. This is the formidable task he set out to accomplish when he was sent by the Sultan to Samsun as Inspector of the Army.

He took the opportunity of awakening the national sentiment by making passionate speeches as he traversed the country. Rapidly the national spirit grew. The

23rd July, 1919, a congress opened at Erzeroum which elected Mustafa Kemal President, and decided to defend the national soil at all costs. The 4th September, 1919, a National Congress formed of delegates from all the provinces assembled at Sivas and again elected Kemal President. Finally the 23rd April, 1920, the first " Grand National Assembly " consisting of five deputies from each Sanjak was opened at Ankara. On the 2nd May, the Assembly declared it represented the provisional government of Turkey. It always elected Mustafa Kemal President. Thus he became Leader of the resistance and prepared to make that resistance effective. During this time the Allies imposed on the Sultan, the 10th August, 1920, the famous treaty of Sèvres, under which the spoils of the Ottoman Empire were to be divided up. Mustafa redoubled his efforts and opened a general offensive at Sakarya, along a front of a 100 miles, which lasted from 23rd August to the 13th September, 1921, and ended in a complete victory over the Greeks, who were driven back as far as Smyrna and the sea. As a result of this triumph the " Grand National Assembly " conferred on Mustafa Kemal the rank of a Marshall and the title of Gazi. The operations continued and by the 20th September, 1921, there was not a single Greek soldier in Anatolia.

On the 11th October, 1922, the armistice of Mudania put an end to this senseless conflagration. Finally the peace conference opened on the 21st November, 1922 and, on the 24th July, 1923, a Treaty was signed which recognized the new Turkish State, henceforth entirely

free to follow its destinies. This latter went on to complete its political organization. On the 29th October, 1923, the Republic was proclaimed and Mustafa Kemal was elected President unanimously. Since then the Gazi worked continuously to form a Turkish nation. For 14 years, by a continuous process of reforms, Turkey has risen day by day towards the prosperity and power necessary to its existence.

This great task, accomplished in major part, is far from being completed . . . for it has no end. Let us not forget that it is inspired by this fundamental principle : " We are revolutionaries." Atatürk, the life and soul of this continual evolution, set an example day by day. At 57 years of age, Atatürk, full of vigour, will and energy, became the " Great Guide," as the Turks justly called him, of the nation he had founded. He attended personally to the important affairs of State : he received all eminent personages : in September, 1936, King Edward VIII, in March, 1937, the President of Roumania, Antonesco, in May, 1937, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Irak, Nadgi-el-Asil. Atatürk regularly inspected the different provinces of Turkey : while quite recently he went to study the position on the Black Sea coast. When the affair of Alexandretta became critical he himself gave instructions to the Turkish representatives. On the occasion of the reception at Athens, the 25th May, 1937, of Ismet Inonü by General Metexas, he sent the following historical message :

" The frontiers of the Allied Balkan States constitute

a single front and those who have designs on it will be struck as by the burning rays of the sun."

Finally Atatürk presided at linguistic, historical and other conferences, and directed the debates.

The "Great Chief" showed himself as often as possible to his people who always expressed, with an indescribable enthusiasm, their profound admiration and attachment to him.

2. THE KEMALIST PHILOSOPHY

Together with the "Political" and "Economic" crisis the world underwent an acute "Social" crisis. All—or nearly all—the hopes of the suffering classes (workmen, peasants and labourers) were founded on the community. But, experiences of the latter did not give satisfaction. On the other hand many of the leaders sought the truth in referring to the past and turned towards despotism. Now despotism has been tried for thousands of years and has always resulted in sanguinary catastrophy for humanity. This social regression would only repeat historical errors and involve innocent people in further wars.

In the face of this world social crisis, the new philosophy of Atatürk can play a mediating role between communism and the old social regimes. Kemalism is distinguished from all other philosophies by its ultra-practical and ultra-popular character.

It is ultra-practical because its principles are not merely theory but are at once put into practice. It is

ultra-popular because all its efforts aim at studying, elevating and civilizing the people, that is the artisans, peasants and the labouring classes. Kemalism endeavours, as far as possible, to bridge the gulf which separates these latter from the intellectual class.

Kemalism inculcates in the popular conscience the notion that civilization means liberty and that happiness lies in a life of independence, that is to say in a life without subjection of a political, social or religious nature.

It attacks at the outset religious fanaticism, which it considers a pathological element implanted in the human brain by despotism. It suppresses all the obstacles created by fanaticism by placing all religions outside the law. One can sum up in a few words the ultra-popular view on religions. They can be considered as philosophies which have long sought for the truth. They have applied their methods freely without bringing happiness to mankind. On the contrary indeed, they have divided mankind by giving rise to social inequalities, by denying to women an active social life, and by provoking the majority of wars. Kemalism, however, does not prevent liberty of conscience : it appreciates religion when presented to the people in the mother tongue. Once freed from fanaticism, conscience receives from the philosophy of Atatürk the formula of an independent existence. To realize this, Kemalism delivers the people from the slavery of Capitalism. Wealth and Capital are, according to ultra-popular ideas, pathological elements in society. It is an

abnormal exaggeration of personal interest. The big capitalists are a danger to the people for whom they mean despotism and misery. Thus Kemalism applies " étatisme " to capital, to big industry and commerce. This " étatisme " is of great advantage to the workman, who works in the factory as a Functionary of the State disposing of its whole resources, and for the people who profit direct from the money thus distributed.

Kemalism restores all government power into the hands of the people by suppressing all titles, all prerogatives and all the big capitalists who form the " pathological " element of society. Also by popularizing literature and music, it tends to elevate the intellectual standard of the people.

The philosophy of Kamâl Atatürk regards love of the people as the real expression of humanity. Because the real man of Nature is the man of the People and love of the People inspires the true sentiment of humanity.

The essential principle of Kemalism is an independent existence for the people. Also it induces a profound spirit of patriotism and nationalism ; for only a patriotic and nationalistic people can defend its independence. But this patriotism and nationalism does not prevent international harmony. For if each nation admits the ultra-popular philosophy, it is obliged to respect the independence of other nations and, without the selfishness of the capitalist classes, the people can realize an international entente. For the Kemalist, the man who does not love his country is not able to love humanity. The ultra-popular conception recognizes a natural equality

between all, as between man and woman. It proclaims, indeed, that woman is the equal of man.

Kemalism has discovered the way to a rapid evolution, and has proved that, in a single generation, by means of disciplined training it is able to develope a great popular civilization.

One can present it to mankind as a model philosophy tested by experience : Kemalism has accomplished in ten years the work of ten centuries.

III

Ankara : Symbol of the Turkish Renovation

THE new Turkey is intimately associated with the personality of Atatürk. It was he who created the Republic, it was he who inspired it, it is he who conceived the idea of founding the capital at Ankara in the very heart of Anatolia, a stroke of genius. He wished the capital to be the symbol of the renovation of Turkey. By acting thus he declared to all that the past was dead : finished the interference of foreigners in Constantinople as in the "good old days." Finished the eternal palace intrigues. Finished the corruption. Finished the demoralizing influence of idleness. The Turkish nation must at last take its part in History on sure and solid foundations. The Capital, representing the soul of the country, must then have its foundation stone laid in a secure position. Ankara was chosen to fulfil this role : it is here, indeed, that in the most critical hours that Turkey has known, at her moment of destiny, Atatürk had concentrated the national effort in the struggle for independence. Ankara now is the capital of a Turkish state as opposed to Stamboul which was handed over to foreign control by the Sultan. It was fitting that Ankara which had presided over the destinies of the New Turkey should become its Capital.

Moreover, it is the centre of a glorious past, rich in memories. The ancestors of the Turks, the Hittites, had set up there nearly four thousand years ago, one of the most ancient empires of the world. The testament of Augustus is engraved there on the ruins of a Greek temple.

But that is not all ; there are other primary reasons why Ankara was chosen. Strategically its position is of great strength ; it is a considerable distance from any point which could serve as a base for a hostile army. Also it is protected on all sides by a chain of mountains which form a natural defence. There, sheltered from attack and from influences hostile to the march of reforms, the capital will be able to extend by degrees its civilizing influence.

However, the difficulties were immense ; enough to discourage the most ardent, if Atatürk by his iron will, had not merited once more the title of Gazi. The whole town had to be built : Ankara being only a small village perched on the steep and bare sides of a hill. The surrounding country was desert, waterless, without vegetation of any kind and infested with marshes which gave rise to a malignant malaria. Everything had to be done in conditions so difficult that they seemed insurmountable. Work was immediately started with an ardour and determination which nothing could damp, in accordance with a plan drawn up by a distinguished Berlin architect. And for more than thirteen years the indefatigable workmen have been building a town which, already to-day, excites the admiration of the visitor.

Malaria has been stamped out, water runs everywhere, vegetation is springing up, and at the foot of the old Ankara, the new Ankara rises with its majestic Government offices, its Embassies, its Banks, its Institutes, its Schools, its Factories surrounded by comfortable homes. This splendid town, constructed according to the most modern ideas of architecture, art and hygiene, is on the road to become a model capital. It is not possible to relate all the interesting things I noticed in my visits to the town. I will express them thus : everywhere there exists great comfort with great simplicity. And now for some striking figures :

On the 29th October, 1923, when the Republic was proclaimed, Ankara only possessed about 5,000 inhabitants. In 1926 the capital already contained 70,000 people. By the 29th October, 1935, twelve years after its foundation, the population amounted to 120,000.

Now my travels in Asia Minor permit me to say that the prodigious effort of Ankara was an example followed by the whole of Turkey. In all the towns, in all the villages even, schools, dispensaries, establishments of all sorts, and new dwelling places, were being built. Roads extend gradually into the desert, where life is going to be reborn.

These words of the Gazi : " Türk, ogün, çalis, güven " (Turk, be proud, work, have confidence) engraven on the monument in Ankara, form the fundamental principles of the Turkish renovation.

IV

The Problem of Water and the Future of Turkey

AMONG the numerous and delicate questions which confronted the Turkish Government, desirous of raising a hardy race on territory which was largely desert, was one of fundamental importance: the question of water. On this question depends the future of Turkey and it merits serious study not only on account of its importance, but also because of its original nature. No nation has had to concern itself in the same manner with its water supply. No nation, either, in the process of organisation, has suffered so much from the lack of this element. Now this anxious problem, which one encounters at each step in Turkey, is imperfectly understood by us. In my opinion the energy which Atatürk displayed in attacking this problem is evidence of the genius of the man who set himself at once to overcome this redoubtable obstacle of nature. And he triumphed where no other would have attempted the problem.

To understand the real value of this enterprise, it is necessary to know the main geographical and climatic conditions of Turkey, or rather of Anatolia, as that is

the main and most important part of the country concerned.

Anatolia consists of a great central plateau surrounded on all sides by chains of mountains whose altitude exceeds a mean height of 3,000 feet. The most elevated escarpements enclosing this plateau are, on the North, those which stretch from Trebizond to Castamouni, culminating in Mt. Ararat, the highest point in Asia Minor, 10,000 feet high, and in the South, the grand circle of the Anti-Taurus and the Taurus whose summits reach more than 6,000 feet. As a result, although surrounded on all sides by the sea, Asia Minor has a continental climate and, a fact particularly grave for the future of the country, there is everywhere a progressive drying up, causing a loss of economic resources. A rich vegetation and a large population can only exist on the southern banks of the Black Sea, on the borders of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, where the winds cause an abundant rainfall.

All the rest of this great country, stifled behind these high mountain walls which rise behind the sea-coast and collect the whole rainfall, is turned into a desert. All this immense territory which constitutes the largest area in Turkey, is a region of steppe ; there are only little islands of cultural land.

But it is certain the zones of cultivation can be gradually extended when water is available. And this problem of finding water is not insoluble ; for there is a rainfall in Anatolia, though only for short seasons. Now, if one cannot yet regularize the rainfall, for re-

forestry is hardly to be hoped for, one can at least regulate the deficiency. One can make use of the streams which during the rainy season flow from the extreme edges of the plateau, dams can be constructed from which water can be led to the cultivated land or the centres of population. The problem of the conservation of water is fundamental to the growth of population in Asia Minor. The transformation of the desert land in Anatolia into fertile and smiling districts will permit, at the same time, a considerable increase in population.

Atatürk shewed, in no uncertain manner, his determination to solve this problem : he has, so to speak, played the first card in founding the capital of the New Turkey in the heart of Anatolia, a region of desert. Ankara, which is to be the centre of this great nation, will extend by degrees its circle of intellectual and natural culture. Ankara will be the living example, the heart and soul of the renovation of Turkey.

Since then all efforts have been directed towards this end : to find water. And these efforts have met with success : it is scarcely ten years since the idea took shape and already an immense dam the " Cubuk Baraje," which has cost the Government more than 75 million francs, will soon provide filtered water for Ankara and irrigation, by means of large canals, for the surrounding country. Meanwhile, one gets the necessary water where one can ; the drinking water comes from Istanbul by train, the other is collected in small quantities everywhere. One finds it in unexpected places ; for instance the Institute of Hygiene uses water discovered when the

foundations were dug. Little by little, life organizes itself, the population increases rapidly, vegetation covers areas hitherto desert, gardens perfume with their flowers the greater part of the public establishments. They are very fine in that of the Ministry of Public Instruction, where under acacias, already tall, the water murmurs among the roses, the red sages and a crowd of plants familiar in southern France. It was not without a feeling of real emotion that I witnessed one of the most noble victories that man has ever won. By means of patience and determination, life and riches replace death and misery.

When I arrived in Istanbul I was again made aware of this question of water which presents there a different and very curious aspect. Whilst walking in the streets, my attention was immediately attracted by numerous electric bells, similar to those that with us announce the presence of a cinema and that a film is about to commence. I looked for the cinema in vain . . . and my Turkish friend shewed me, laughing, a white shop front from which the sound proceeded. Intrigued, I questioned him and learnt the sound proceeded simply from a shop where water is sold, of which there are many in Turkey. For one piastre, that is for a little more than 2 sous, one can drink a glass of this iced water, kept in a reservoir placed behind the wooden front, the counter opening on to the street. I must point out here the predominant roll played by water in the lives of the inhabitants. One can say that throughout Turkey it is the national drink.

In Istanbul water circulates everywhere ; there are many shops for its sale whilst itinerant vendors are still more numerous ; in the restaurants water is given you in place of wine. It is sold in the street, in the train and on the ships in the Bosphorus. A glass of water invariably accompanies a cup of Turkish coffee, and it is water that your host offers you if you are thirsty.

From whence comes all this water, lavish even in Ankara ?

I had the curiosity to go to its source or rather its sources ; they are numerous on the outskirts of Istanbul, principally in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus. In particular " Kocatas " and " Tasdelen " are places of excursion much appreciated by the people of Istanbul. They make frequent picnics to the edge of the " Sweet Waters " and boast with justice of the benefits they derive from them.

V

The Planned Political Development of Turkey

THE political life of Turkey—I mean by " political " the combination of the divers organizations which assure the life of the country, politics strictly so called, industry, commerce, finance, education ; in a word all that constitutes the method of furthering the national life—has, as a fundamental basis, this declaration of Atatürk at the Congress of the People's Republican Party held at Ankara in 1927 :

" We are ' Republicans.' "
" We are ' Nationalists.' "
" We are ' Populistes.' "
" We are ' Etatistes.' "
" We are ' laic.' "
" We are ' Revolutionaries.' "

It is advisable to explain, first of all, each of these six principles represented on the Kemalist banner by the arrows which spread out like the rays of the rising sun behind the citadel of Ankara.

" We are Republicans.' "—The Turkish State is a Republic which was proclaimed on the 29th October, 1923. Its constitution, promulgated on the 30th April,

1924, establishes that : everything proceeds from the nation. The latter chooses, in its own name, a single Assembly of Deputies : this is the Grand National Assembly, elected for four years. The Electors are the Turks of both sexes who have reached the age of 18 (age of the civil majority), and those eligible are the electors who have attained 30 years and who can read and write in Turkish. The Assembly chooses from among its members a President of the Republic for the duration of a parliament. The latter presents to the Assembly the Ministers of State he has designated.

Nothing can be done without the approval of the Grand National Assembly (G.N.A.), which represents directly the nation.

Many writers have affirmed, in complete error, that this is nothing but a façade behind which is the " Kemalist Dictator " ! And they explain this by saying " that in reality everything emanates from the single will of the President of the Republic." This is a gross exaggeration : it is true, indeed, that Atatürk himself chose his collaborators and that the G.N.A. which should control them in the name of the nation, consists exclusively of deputies from the Republican Party, of which he was the President. It is very necessary, however, to recognize this important fact, the Government made reforms, voted the budget, promulgated the laws, and in a word, governed under the aegis and impulsion of Atatürk, in complete accord with the G.N.A., which was free to discuss them and even oppose its veto. Finally, as we shall see later, it is the Republi-

can Party of the People which settles the political programme of the Government.

Kemalism, therefore, is a democratic regime working to a definite programme initiated by Kamäl Atatürk. The latter thus traced the road which the Turkish nation must follow according to the means which it itself judges to be the best adapted ; for Atatürk directed, advised, and ordered everything and this was accepted by all as being in the general interest. The Turkish people realize that its life depended on the energy of its Great Chief and put complete confidence in him. Atatürk did not govern as a Despot, but with the complete assent of his people, who venerated him as a national Hero.

In a word, we find here, acclaimed by the people, the real image of democracy. Kemalism, comparable to no other system, is an "authoritative" Republic, seeking its inspiration in the formula, " by the people for the people." One could not justly maintain that Atatürk was a dictator in the manner of Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin ! " We only resemble ourselves," he declared with truth. He created a form of democratic government where complete liberty reigns, not forgetting, however, that " Liberty is like fire : beneficient if controlled ; abandoned to itself it burns and destroys." This is why discussion and criticism, absolutely free among members of the Republican Party, is not permitted outside its limits nor can it be directed against the Party. But the adversaries of the regime have disappeared rapidly, and the Kemalists are gradually

relaxing their veto as the foundations of the New Turkey become consolidated. Already one can speak of progress in this direction. Thus the present G.N.A. elected on the 8th February, 1935, has opened its doors to an Opposition. Out of the total number of candidates put up by the Republican Party, thirteen seats have been left vacant for independent deputies. It is necessary to add that these latter are subject to certain restrictions : the number and the distribution of electorates authorized to send up independent members were specified by the People's Party, and the candidates had to be national republicans. It is also interesting to observe the G.N.A. contains 17 woman deputies.

" We are 'Nationalists.' "—In order to accomplish its reorganization Turkey required complete tranquillity and independence. Now, its geographical position exposes it to every kind of propaganda—anarchist, fascists, marxist, and internationalist—harmful to its renovation. It is then by the assumption of a profound nationalist faith that Turkey can protect itself from destructive influences. A particular feature of this nationalism is that it is without imperialistic aims. This is a very important trait. When one speaks of " nationalism " one usually indicates a desire to extend ones frontiers. To convince us of this one has only to glance at European nationalism. Now the Kemalists, on the contrary, are far from wishing to introduce foreign elements into the country ; they aim at the homogeneity of the Turkish people. It is often said

that Turkey, thrown back on itself, and rid of all that constituted with it the Ottoman Empire, is rendered stronger and sounder. Nothing is more true and the Kemalists are well aware of it.

" We are 'Populistes.' "—The " populisme " and the nationalism of the Turks are interwoven with each other. It is in " populisme " that the Turkish people finds its unity, and this engenders nationalism. This " populism " has for its fundamental principle the complete abolition of the " class " struggle. The pugnacity of the workers, depending on the power of numbers, like the arrogance of the capitalists, depending on the power of money, are stifled. The relations between workmen and employers are inspired with the harmony and conciliation necessary for the prosperity of the country. Strikes and lock-outs are forbidden : the State is the sole arbiter in case of conflict. Neither class nor privilege nor distinction of sex exists in Turkey. The regard for a real democracy, composed of individuals equal in rights and dignity, has gone so far as to suppress all kinds of decorations ; there does not exist in Turkey anything in the nature of our Legion of Honour. No Turk is allowed to accept a foreign decoration ; the only Turks with decorations are those who possess the medal given to the heroes of Independence. In Turkey, capacity, knowledge, and work, is the only passport to a superior status.

" We are 'Étatistes.' "—" Étatisme " in Turkey has no resemblance to marxism which decrees that every-

ISTANBUL

To face p. 41

thing should be done by the State and nothing left to individual initiative. Quite on the contrary, according to the true sense of Turkish " étatisme," initiative is free to all ; but the State exercises a general supervision over all economic enterprises. The State will create itself and control the industries which it encourages and protects. Private industry cannot ensure the economic future of the country. The State itself draws up a vast plan of industrialization : it constructs factories and places them under skilled management. Everywhere where it is found desirable, it establishes monopolies, which give added vigour to weak institutions in the economic life.

" We are ' laic.' "—All reforms in Turkey, political, social, intellectual, economic are profoundly laic. It would be useless to enumerate them here as they are too well-known already.

" We are ' Revolutionaries.' "—Far from considering their task complete, the leaders of the Republic are carrying out, with incredible energy, a series of reforms intended to keep the country in a continuous state of evolution till its reorganization is completed. For fourteen years, evolution has succeeded evolution and reform reform. With an irresistible élan, Turkey is insensibly becoming the Nation that Atatürk desired. The revolution pursues its course with a regular and sure rhythm ; nothing is allowed to delay for an instant any reform judged indispensable ; the order given by Atatürk was immediately carried out.

It was the " Great Chief," as the Turks liked to call him, who each day dictated his will to the whole country.

How are these fundamental political principles put into practice? To understand this, attention must be directed to the following point : in Turkey there exists only one political party; the People's Republican Party, of which Atatürk was the President. No other party can exist. Now the Republican Party of the People assembles in Congress for four years to examine the progress made in the reorganization of the country and to settle the programme for the next session. This programme, which includes the whole administration necessary for the national life, is established on the principles we have just enumerated. It is rigorously applied by members of the Government, ministers and deputies, all part of the Republican Party. This party is derived from the " Association for the Defence of the rights of Anatolia and Roumelia " and was founded in its present form on the 9th September, 1923. The first Congress of the party was held at Sivas, under the abovementioned name; the second took place in Ankara in 1927, the third also at Ankara in 1931, and, finally, the fourth assembled in September, 1935.

As regards foreign policy, Turkey also pursues a carefully studied and rigorously applied plan; it is concerned above all in maintaining its independence *vis-à-vis* the Great Powers. But without looking for an alliance, which might ensue in tutelage, she does not disdain to seek aid from those who wish to help her.

She takes and applies to her own purposes, the best that each modern State has to offer ; her method of renovation is, in a manner, a synthesis of the progress of all other people, assimilated with skill by the Turkish people, who are not lacking in brilliant qualities. Turkey demands the genius of each people for collaboration in its work of organization ; she takes from France and Germany the Professors for her Universities, the scientists for her laboratories, the architects for her important buildings, doctors and a crowd of other specialists ; from the Soviet Republic, the engineers and artisans for her industrialization. From this collaboration results the solidly established friendship between Turkey and the Soviet.

When one considers the foreign policy of Turkey, a question at once arises :

Has the Treaty of Lausanne (24th July, 1923) definitely closed the Eastern Question as far as Turkey is concerned ?

It seems one can reply in the affirmative ; the Eastern Question as it meant then—the complete domination of Turkey by the European Powers—cannot now exist in view of the political stability of the Turkey of Atatürk.

The Turks have at last found the right " geographical frame " for founding a " Turkish Nation." Thrown back on Asia Minor and Thrace, on to a land where the Turks, coming from Central Asia, founded their true home in distant and even prehistoric times, the Kemalists show themselves worthy descendants of the Hittites.

They wish to revive in all its glory Turkish civilization on Turkish soil.

This indissoluble bond with a definite geographical region is the primary condition of a national existence.

Thus, Ankara, the capital of the young Republic, is the symbol and token of the attachment of the Turks for this country.

Sprung from the community of Islam, the soul of the Turk delights in the stony soil of Asia Minor and Thrace. Now this territory, the bridge which unites Europe and Asia, is almost exactly in the geographical centre of the world. It is the natural platform for the international terrestial and aerial routes. It forms also one of the strongest strategical positions on the great maritime highways.

The Kemalists, aware of the importance of this position and the great dangers it might entail for the life of the nation, have done everything to assure, by a policy diametrically opposed to that of the Sultans, the integrity of their soil. For the same reasons, the whole foreign policy of Turkey is based on the principle of non-interference in their affairs. The Turks accept willingly all " collaboration " useful for their work of renovation, but they will not on any account hear of the word " influence."

The Soviet Republic is the first State with which Turkey has established good relations. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the Russian Revolution, far from injuring the Turkish Republic, marked the end of the fatal menace which her powerful enemy

in the North so long exercised. Further, the Soviet Republic and Turkey were at this moment engaged in the same struggle against the Western Powers. This amity has been maintained since then. It is all the more solid, because a strong Turkey at the entrance of the Black Sea and on the Anatolian glacis protects some very vulnerable parts of Soviet territory. As for Turkey, her friendship with Russia saves her from having to face on two fronts. Finally, it means for the two countries a sensible increase of their prestige in Asia.

Germany, by means of generosity, publicity and suppleness, maintains very close relations with Turkey. Like the Soviet Republic, she at once recognized the vast role she could play in a country that was being completely reorganized, by according her collaboration. Thus, a large part of the industrialization of Turkey, is being accomplished with German engineers, apparatus and credits. The trade between the two countries is prosperous. Finally, the higher instruction, which is creating the intellectual élite charged with pursuing the Kemalist programme, is entirely in the hands of German professors, technicians and scientists.

The establishment of friendly relations between Greece and Turkey is of no less importance. In a decisive moment for the Near East, Venizelos and Atatürk transformed the enmity which had existed so long between them, into a firm friendship. This rid Turkey of an adversary who, if he was not dangerous in himself, could have been used by one or other of the European Powers. It is an insurance against a Balkan coalition,

as existed in 1912. Resulting from conversations at Lausanne, in 1923, between Ismet Inonü and Venizelos and sealed by the treaty of Ankara in 1930, the Turco-Greek entente grows firmer each day. One does not often find in modern diplomacy such a collaboration. It is of great importance, because it forms the nucleus of a new Balkan world in which the Great Powers will be unable to exercise a determining influence. After the failure of the treaty of Sèvres, Italy was, for a long time, the only nation to enter into friendly relations with the young Republic. Following a severe crisis which menaced the two States, they concluded, in 1928, a treaty of neutrality which will favour, also, the Turco-Greek rapprochement. Since then, an excellent feeling reigns between Rome and Ankara. However, Turkey does not forget that Italy is the most dynamic of her great neighbours ; the only one which, under pressure of excess population, might still look on Anatolia as a possible land for colonization. If this danger does not exist for the moment, it still imposes on Turkey the need for vigilance.

However, it appears that recent conversations at Milan between Ruchtu Aras and Count Ciano have quite dissipated any misunderstanding between Turkey and Italy. The initiative on the part of Turkey to create a rapprochement between the two countries has a very good chance of succeeding.

The Kemalist revolution has damaged France, much more than any other country, in its cultural, economic and financial interests. Indeed the supremacy of France

in Turkey used to depend on those very elements which the revolution has destroyed. The religious Protectorate, the Capitulations, the intellectual and financial domination have all disappeared with the Ottoman Empire. Thus a thousand sources of influence, specifically French, have dried up. Also our country has taken a long time in playing its part in the state of affairs sanctioned by the treaty of Lausanne. France resigns herself, not without regrets, to the loss of immense privileges. And, while all the Great Powers understand the capital importance of good relations with Kemalist Turkey, and, little by little, take our place in the Levant, France still hesitates to throw overboard its former conceptions. However, the Government of Ankara, to whom the friendship of Paris is precious, asks only to reaffirm this ancient amity. It depends almost entirely on France to create for herself a place of honour in Turkey. But Turkey, absolutely independent, will only have relations with other nations on an equal footing. Now, French influence has left deep traces in Turkey, where our country, our principles, our culture still enjoy great preference. The Turks, who have with the French many affinities in spirit, ideology, character and temperament, only ask for our sincere support in the formation of their country. Kemalist Turkey wishes to collaborate closely with France, and more than any other, this union can be a powerful influence for world peace. Our relations are very cordial and, to make them quite sincere, it is only necessary for us to settle a painful dispute by according to the Hatay the inde-

pendence which it has been long claiming and abandon the last trace of our old influence and domination over the Turkish people.

On the 29th May, 1937, France and Turkey came to a definite accord which settled the deplorable dispute resulting from the Franco-Syrian treaty concluded in September last. The negotiations were conducted with perfect courtesy under the auspices of the League of Nations, and, whilst reinforcing the basis of friendship between the two countries, shewed in a convincing fashion that the most thorny questions can be equitably solved by the International Tribune of Geneva, to the great benefit of world peace. This unfortunate affair of the Sandjak of Alexandretta and of Antioch was the only cloud darkening the horizon of the excellent Franco-Turkish relations. The regulation of the definite status of this region, in which Turkey, France and Syria, have primary interests, has been left till now in a state of vagueness. French diplomacy, profoundly imbued with the traditional principles of our policy in the Levant, has repeatedly delayed the settlement of this question. However, it constituted the focus of a grave danger. France, refusing to face realities, while continuing to pursue the traditions to which she owes her prestige, ran the risk of transforming them into a pernicious routine. One thing is clear, however—we recognized it when signing the agreement in Ankara in 1921—the Sandjak is essentially Turkish. This region, which the Turks call Hatay, is historically Turkish; the Hittites founded one of the centres of their civilization

there. And even to-day, this province, which three thousand years before the Christian era had economic relations with the Sumerians, contains a large majority of autochthonous Turks. Their personality has survived intact a succession of cataclysms in a country which has been subject to invasion by a number of different races. This is a fact that scientific enquirers can always verify at leisure. The Hatay is so characteristically Turkish that even the most superficial observer might judge it useless to convince himself by historical and ethnographic studies. " The Turkish language is dominant in the Sandkak. Arabic is spoken, but only by the Alaouites and the Christians. The Alaouites, the Armenians and the Greeks nearly all know Turkish." These are the words of General Jacquot, who is not exactly a Turcophil.

Now, from a geographical point of view also, Hatay is Turkish.

Its configuration has no resemblance to that of Syria and is formed by folds of the Taurus range. The land by the homogeneity of its structure fits admirably into the physical contour of Anatolia. Finally, in this country, where all the geographical names are Turkish, there is the same vegetation as in Cilicia, the same climate. One can say from all points of view Syria and Hatay are profoundly different.

Nevertheless, neither the Franco-Syrian treaty of the 9th September, 1936, nor the Franco-Turk agreement of Ankara on the 20th October, 1921, have settled definitely the fate of the Sandjak. On the contrary, without con-

sidering its engagements *vis-à-vis* Turkey, France was content simply to unite the Sandjak in the new state of Syria. Judge then of the feelings of the Turks at the announcement of this news ! How does one imagine the Turks can live under the rule of the Syrians ? How, above all, can one believe the Turkish Republic would disinterest itself in the fate of its brothers to the point of not demanding respect for the terms of the Franco-Turk agreement of 1921, that is the giving of guarantees for the autonomy of Hatay ?

But in view of the violence of the Turkish press, the French Government realized Turkey was bent on obtaining, at all costs, an equitable settlement of this question, which it had made a national cause. Also it worked for an amicable arrangement in a fine spirit of conciliation. A definite agreement, which favours the interests of both sides as far as possible, has resulted. The terms, upon which the French and Turkish delegations are agreed and which are ratified by the Council of the League of Nations, stipulate briefly :

1. The territory of Alexandria and Antioch becomes an autonomous province within the cadre of the Syrian State.
2. This territory is under the control of the League of Nations.
3. A Franco-Turkish treaty guarantees its frontiers.[1]

Finally, the last of the big European Powers, England, has resumed normal relations with Turkey. Great

[1] France has ceded the Hatay to Turkey since these words were written (Trans.)

Britain, who had been the animator and principal factor in the struggle to death between the Western States and the Ottoman Empire, obtained what she wanted at Lausanne : the demilitarization of the Straits and the cession of the Mosul vilayet. The Montreux Conference having put an end to the first of these obligations, the Anglo-Turk rapprochement soon resulted. England, in accepting the remilitarization of the Straits, has obtained the privilege of supplying the greater part of the required armaments and has now a vast field of exploitation for her capital in Turkey. The visit of King Edward VIII, which sealed the renewal of friendly relations with Turkey, has been followed immediately by economic and financial missions sent to Turkey to discover a plan of co-operation between the two States.

To sum up, Kemalist Turkey has entered into relations with all the Great Powers, without forming any alliance which might entail tutelage.

Iran, Irak, and Afghanistan, where the national consciousness has also awakened, are ready to reject any domination by the European Powers. The community of interest which Turkey and these three Powers have declared, leads direct to a political solidarity between them in which Turkey is the spiritual Head. Teheran, Bagdad, and Kabul are profiting from the experience of Ankara, whose cultural influence on her three neighbours increases every day. Turkish Professors and Specialists teach in Afghanistan, and the young Afghans are endeavouring to perfect themselves in the Turkish language. The hostility of several centuries between

Turkey and Iran has given place to a real entente. As to Turco-Irakian friendship, this has been recently consecrated, in July, 1937, by the visit of Nadji-El-Asil to Ankara and the journey of Djelal Bey and Rustu Aras to Bagdad.

Turkey is not able, nor does she wish, to prevent her national resurrection being an example to the Orient or to the Turkish minorities. But she is careful to avoid influencing them in this matter. In no country—neither in Arabia, Irak, Bulgaria, Greece, nor the Soviet Republic—can irredentism be said to be encouraged by Turkey, who is concerned solely, with nationalism in her own country. Besides, a big immigration movement is taking Turks back to their mother country.

In short, Turkey, by means of a prudent and adroit foreign policy, can pursue in safety the consolidation of her country. The greed of acquisition which was the cause of the "Eastern Question" will no longer prevail against her.

In ending this account of the foreign policy of Turkey, it is essential to call to mind that this State, which has contributed in a large measure to the creation of the "Balkan Entente," and of which it is now the most ardent supporter, is directing the organization and union of the Eastern peoples by its signature to the "Eastern Pact." Turkey, the moral and geographical link between the "Balkan and Asiatic Ententes,"[1] is their real centre of gravity.

[1] One knows that the "Balkan Entente" comprises Yugoslavia, Greece, Roumania and Turkey. The recent "Asiatic Entente" includes Iran, Irak, Afghanistan, and Turkey. Bulgaria, Syria and Egypt will probably soon agree to join these organizations.

ANKARA: GOVERNMENT OFFICES

To face p. 53

VI

The Institute of the Revolution

THE University has to accomplish in Turkey a much more important task than in any other country. On it devolves the need of forming the intellectual élite which, imbued with Turkish revolutionary ideology, will assure the future of the Republic. It is on the University that the complete success of the national reorganization depends. It supports and propagates the revolutionary spirit in the country, inspired by the principles of the People's Republican Party. It forms an intellectual youth which, impregnated with the Kemalist doctrines, will spread its influence in all domains of national activity. Thus the circle of the disciples and defenders of the Republic will gradually expand. Moreover, for the regime to be solidly established, it must rely on leaders inspired with its fundamental principles : it must count on the Professor charged with the formation of a new generation, on the Officer who defends its security, on the Doctor and Advocate who propagate its ideology, on the Engineer placed at the head of some big enterprise, finally, on each of its functionaries. Again, all the vital forces of the country being mobilized for the political, social and economic reorganization, it is

indispensable that each member of the hierarchy works with all the ardour and enthusiasm of an idealist, conscious of the immense importance of his role. For that, the Turkish intellectual must be acquainted with the political, social, and economic history of the New Turkey and with the Kemalist doctrines. Turkish History, properly so called, should then play an important role in higher education. It is to be said that this national History, even at this day largely unknown or falsified, is gradually being lifted from the obscurantism which enveloped it, thanks to the labours of the " Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti " (Society for the study of Turkish History). Turkish History is born and takes its place in Universal History, not without overthrowing the old and false conceptions of Western historians.

The Turkish academic spirit has led logically to the foundation, in the Universities of Ankara and Instanbul, of the " Institute of the Revolution," which occupies an extremely important position in higher education and has no equivalent in any other country. This Institute is :

1. A centre of study and of literature where one can find all the books, journals and documents concerning the Revolution.

2. A museum of the Revolution.

3. A centre of propaganda, which organizes public lectures and conferences.

4. A bureau of observation, charged with following the evolution of revolutionary principles.

5. Lastly, and above all, it is this Institution which has to inculcate the revolutionary ideology in the intellectual élite of the nation. They have chosen as Professor four specialists, men of known political worth, direct collaborators with Atatürk, who have played an active role in the first plans for establishing the Republic. These men of action are the Masters, having all the requisite qualities for fulfilling their high mission ; aided by their personal prestige, they are living examples to their disciples. They divide instruction in the following manner :

Recep Peker, former Secretary General of the Republican Party, explains in his lectures the political development within the regime. Making a comparison between the Turkish revolutionary ideology and that of other regimes, Fascism, Hitlerism, Marxism, etc., he makes clear the complete originality of Kemalism. And he clearly demonstrates it is the only system suitable to the needs of modern Turkey.

Hikmet Bayurt, deputy and former Secretary to the President of the Republic, treats of the foreign policy of Turkey during the War of Independence. In possession of original and unpublished documents, he describes the many intrigues, particularly those of Venizelos, which tried to prevent the forming of the Turkish State. Analysing the treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne, he unveils details of the different stages of the diplomatic discussions, which ended in the independence of Turkey.

Mahmut Esat Baykurt, former Minister of Justice and author of the Turkish judicial codes, a fine orator

with an enthusiastic temperament, lectures on the constitutional development of the country.

Yusuf Ramal, former Minister of Economics and Foreign Affairs, several times charged with diplomatic missions, has been for a long time Professor of Political Economy. In his lectures he exposes the economic evolution of Turkey. By a careful study of the Turkish five year plan, he emphasizes its value and necessity for the national development.

All those working at the University and the High Schools to obtain their diploma in the higher branches of study, are obliged to undergo a year's course at the Institute of Revolution and pass a written examination.

Each of the four Professors is assisted by a young man, of not more than thirty years of age who, under the title of " Docent " (in charge of the course), himself sets the examination questions and has full responsibility to correct the answers. It is very interesting to note that youth plays an important part in instruction ; the young students as soon as they get their diploma are entrusted with most important duties in the University. The instruction of youth by youth, such is the first truth that emerges from this study.

VII

Turkey an Arable and Stock-Breeding Country

TURKEY is essentially a land suitable for growing crops and raising stock ; Asia Minor has been esteemed for this since very ancient times. The principal crops are wheat, barley and maize ; then come rye and oats ; finally, in very small quantities, millet and rice. Their cultivation is actively pursued in view of the economic plan to make Turkey, by degrees, self-supporting. As Turkey is quite independent from the political point of view, so she must become in the economic sense : she must no longer depend on foreign purchases, and hence must produce sufficient for her own needs. This plan has already given appreciable results. Before the World War the country imported 80 thousand tons of wheat and 170 thousand tons of flour per annum. Now, in 1935, Turkey has no need of foreign imports of wheat ; on the contrary, indeed, she exports more than 110 thousand tons a year. The regions round Adana, Erzeroum, Konia and Sivas are the most favourable for this crop.

The production of other cereals increases rapidly : the amount of barley grown, in particular, is doubled

every year. Lastly on poor soil, beans, peas, lentils and potatoes are cultivated.

The vine, fig, olive and apricot trees, which exist in great quantities on Anatolian soil, nourish prosperous industries.

It is in Western Anatolia, in the regions of Izmir, Magnesia and Brusa, that the soil and climate are particularly favourable to the production of grapes. One must not forget that Asia Minor is the original home of the vine. One finds here the famous " Sultanas," succulent grapes without pips, of which 90% are used for the making of arak and dried raisins. A great quantity of the last two products are sent to England, Germany, Holland and Italy. The vilayet of Smyrna is the biggest centre for the cultivation of figs. There, a huge forest of fig trees extends on which grow hundreds of millions of figs, which are left to dry on the branches. Then they are transported to special establishments where they are exposed to the sun. After a careful grading and packing, carried out under strict hygienic conditions, they are ready for consumption. The greater part is exported. All the river banks of Turkey are planted with olive trees, the fruit of which is almost entirely used for the manufacture of oil, largely consumed in the country. We ought to mention, also, the hazel and pistachio nuts ; the first grow in great numbers on the littoral of the Black Sea, in the region which stretches from Ordu to Trebizond. The nuts are sold abroad : Trieste is the principal purchaser, then comes Hamburg, Marseilles, London and New York. Pistachio nuts are grown in

the opposite region, on the frontier of Syria. Three-quarters of this crop, about 5 thousand tons, are exported to America, France, Egypt and Greece. One must not also forget that Turkey produces melons. What traveller has not been astonished at the incredible quantity of this fruit? They are seen everywhere and eaten everywhere; every day ships discharge cargoes of them on the quays of the Golden Horn and Kadiköy. Itinerant pedlars, carrying heavy loads of them on their backs or on donkeys, swarm in all the towns and villages of Turkey.

Mulberry trees for the production of silk worms grow in Turkey, and quantities of cotton, tobacco, opium poppies and liquorice are cultivated. Forests of mulberry trees grow in the district of Brusa, the great centre of Turkish silk industry. Smyrna and Adana are the chief centres of cotton culture. Whilst at Smyrna this is undertaken by small proprietors, at Adana there are large establishments on the American style; there, cotton is produced on an intensive scale. Turkey should become one of the great world producers of cotton; financiers and landed proprietors are aware of the wealth which will accrue to Anatolia by developing this crop. Its production is continually on the increase. In the region of Adana alone there are about 4 million acres devoted to it. Production may reach 1,500,000 bales a year. At present it is only 150,000 bales, but one must remember that in 1917 it was only 10,000 bales. Stability of price is assured by a permanent understanding between the cotton bourse at Adana, and those in Liverpool, Alexandria, and Bombay.

The seed, planting, culture and handling of the crop is rigorously controlled by strict regulations. Thus a selection of the best grades of cotton can be made, establishing the superiority of Turkish cotton in the world. Most of it is exported to England and Italy. Cotton is also found on the frontiers of N.E. Asia Minor ; the whole of this, about 15,000 bales, is sent to Russia.

Turkish tobacco is renowned throughout the world. This is due to its excellent quality, obtained by careful preparation in the selection of seed, and choice of the most suitable ground. The culture and gathering of the crop is carried out under the direction of the tobacco monopoly who exercise a careful control. Samsun, Smyrna, Trebizond and Brusa are the principal centres of production. It is in the region of Samsun and Smyrna that the best quality is grown, while that of Brusa produces the greatest quantity, twenty to twenty-five tons a year. America heads the list of consumers, then come Italy, Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, and, a long way last, France.

In the month of May the flowers bloom in the vast fields of poppies which extend to the environs of Izmir, Malatia, Amasia, Afioum and Karahissar, the famous opium Black Castle whose citadel, perched on top of a bare rock about 4,000 feet high, dominates with its sombre mass an immense eruptive tract. More than 300,000 peasants are devoted to the cultivation of the poppy, which provides, each year, about 400 tons of opium. Istanbul and Izmir are the principal markets for this product. Up till recently, the Netherlands,

France, Germany and England have been the principal buyers of this narcotic. But the latest decisions of the League of Nations on this subject have shut it out from most European ports. Also the Turkish monopoly of narcotics is seeking new ground for the disposal of the stocks of opium accumulated in the depôts of Izmir and Istanbul; it looks much as if the Orient will replace Europe as a buyer of this product.

Finally, Turkey harvests about 30,000 tons of liquorice roots utilized in pharmacy, confectionery and in the preparation of refreshing drinks. The greater part is set aside for exportation to Europe.

To sum up, Turkish agriculture is on the way to becoming very prosperous. Soon, not only will it suffice to feed the country, but will also give rise to active commerce with foreign countries. Now, from the point of view of stock raising, Turkey is also in a very favourable position ; the vast plateaux of Anatolia are admirably adapted for it.

Turkish live stock, which suffered serious loss during the War of Independence, is fortunately on the way to being completely reconstituted. Horned animals, oxen and buffaloes, numbered 4,500,000 in 1925, in 1935 this number was raised to nearly 5,000,000. Flocks of sheep have also largely increased, from 5,000,000 in 1925 to 6,500,000 in 1935. Goats numbered 3,200,000 in 1925, and 4,600,000 in 1935.

It is necessary to remark particularly the goats called Ankara, which have long hair, mohair, employed in the textile industry. Nearly 5,000 tons of mohair

are obtained each year. England absorbs three-quarters of this, the remainder is exported to the United States, Germany and France.

Among the numerous breeds of Anatolian sheep, those of Karamania are famous for the fineness of their wool from which carpets, coverings, and knitted objects of great value are made. Turkish wool is sent principally to the United States, and in much smaller quantities, to Bulgaria, France, Italy and England.

Horse breeding, which in the past was on a big scale, has much diminished in the last fifty years ; only about 500,000 are bred now. However, the horse is coming into favour again ; measures are being taken to improve the strain and increase the numbers. The number of camels is declining and amounts to about 80,000. On the other hand there are as many as 1,200,000 donkeys. It is worth remarking that pigs have been introduced into Turkey.

When stressing the important place that agriculture is taking in Turkish economy one must not be influenced too much by the sight of the miserable pedlars of water who, dressed in rags, infest the whole length of railways ; the future of the Turkish peasant is assured to-day.

The Government makes laudible efforts to improve his lot. In his speech at the 4th Congress of the Republican Party of the People, held at Ankara in September, 1935, Recep Peker said :

" The party has come to a decision, to which the Government attach great importance, to endow the

peasant with land.[1] We intend to promote special laws for this purpose. The Constitution and other laws will be modified if necessary. . . . In Turkey, the citizen will possess his plot, the cultivator his land." Already the results obtained are brilliant; it is a Turkey of prosperous farms that will be seen, not "a Steppe in rags."

[1] Since March 1937, agricultural "Combines" are being created. These are real village Co-operative Societies forming the peasants into groups for a more rational exploitation of the soil. Uncultivated lands are bought from their owners and distributed by lot to the peasants who are charged with the task of improving their value by means of ultra-modern agricultural implements given to each "Combine."

VIII

The Industrialization of Turkey

WE know that Turkey is a rich agricultural country. We can now enquire if she is also an industrial country. We will reply " Yes ! " or, at least, that she is on the way to become so very rapidly. Turkey pursues in the industrial domain, as in all the others, her plan of national renovation of which the first principle is : " The wealth of Turkey is for the Turkish people." When the Government of the Republic assumed power, only fourteen years ago, the industrial conditions were disastrous. The Conference of Lausanne, in abolishing the Capitulations and a number of gross injustices, had delivered the New Turkey in great part from her bondage to Europe ; but she still remained the vassal of the powerful financiers of several Western countries. European capitalist, who had placed their yoke on the Ottoman Empire, were disposed to continue their enterprises ; commerce, banking, customs, mineral wealth, railways and other monopolies of public utility were in their hands. What is more, Turkey, a purely agricultural country, possessed no national industry and was compelled to sell its products of the soil, at low price, to foreign countries and buy from them,

at gold prices, their manufactured articles. It was necessary to do everything to change this deplorable state of things if one wished Turkey to grow sound and strong and gain its independence. It was indispensable to construct a large number of factories which could work up the national raw materials. Thus Turkey would not have to import all the manufactured goods necessary for her needs and, moreover, by the progressive development of her industry she would be giving an impulse to her agriculture.

The late President of the Council, Ismet Inonü, undertook this task with feverish activity ; he is the real inspirer of Turkish industry. Under his direction the Turkish five year plan was conceived : the State, putting itself at the head of the country's economic reorganization, had to construct throughout the land an enormous network of factories financed and run under its direct control. The realization of this vast programme of industrialization cost nearly 550 million francs : it included the textile, cotton, wool and hemp industry ; the mining industry, iron, semi-coke, carbon, copper and sulphur ; the glass and porcelain industry and, finally, the industrial chemistry industry. Now, not a centime has been borrowed abroad.[1] The entire Turkish population has made heavy sacrifices for it ; the taxes are very high, higher than in any other country ; officials and employees have given up a third of their emoluments to the cause. Is it not a fine

[1] But Turkey has recently been granted large credits, notably in England and Germany (Trans.)

example of determined effort for the national well-being, a fine example of the unanimity of a whole people, who have saved themselves from the abyss and who, glad to have escaped death, are braced to-day to assure themselves a free existence?

These efforts have met with their recompense. The completion of the five year plan, which was to end in 1937, is to-day in great measure realized. Throughout Anatolia, factories are continually opening and beginning work immediately. At Bakirköy is a splendid cloth factory, the first of its kind in Turkey. The first paper factory has been established at Smyrna. Alpullu contains the fourth sugar factory. Finally, on the 16th September, 1935, the famous Kayseri Combine was inaugurated which has no equal in the Near East. Founded by the Sumer Bank, which is charged with the application of the five year plan, this immense cloth factory contains 1,080 looms, 33,000 spindles and will turn out thirty million yards of yarn per annum and use 5 thousand tons of cotton. About 3,000 workmen will be employed there, night and day, which will be increased to 4,000 when the three gangs are working together. Everything has been thought out, not only for the proper running of the machinery, but also for the well-being of the workmen; a school, a stadium and a hippodrome will provide them with instruction and sport. The Kayseri Combine follows the most modern Soviet technique, a close collaboration between Soviet Russia and Turkey. The industrialization of Turkey is being largely carried out by Soviet engineers and

specialists. Future Turkish engineers and specialists are being trained in Moscow.

This part of a speech made by Djelal Bayar, Minister of Economy, at the inauguration of the Kayseri, gives us a clear notion of the industrial programme of Turkey :

> " Citizens, we know the fate reserved for those nations which confine themselves solely to agriculture. Without being seduced by this or that doctrine, should we do wisely to confine ourselves to providing the raw materials ? This would be, in my opinion to occupy ourselves with useless controversy. Our predecessors have expended all their eloquence on this subject. They have not considered that those countries which confine themselves to be producers of raw material, expose themselves to disastrous results. By establishing a harmony between these two domains of activity (agriculture and industry) we are doing the work of civilization. Our programme of industrialization will lead us to that state of perfection to which we aspire. In this programme textiles occupy an important place. The total revenues of the Country are valued at two hundred million pounds. Yarn represents fifty millions of that. . . . In the past year we have opened the textile factory of Bakirkoy ; to-day we open that of Kayseri and in a few months we will open the Eregli Combine. In 1937 it will be the turn of Nazilli. Do not think that our ambition will stop there. We must produce enough to equal the consumption of the country. . . ."

It is true, economic organization ought to embrace all industries : that of silk, which was at one time very prosperous, but is now in decline, will be revived by the

foundation at Brusa of an important factory managed by the State. Thanks to the establishment of sugar factories, this article of diet, not long ago considered a luxury, is now within reach of all. Paper also, will be lowered in price when the factory at Smyrna is opened. It will do away with 50% of the importation, a real scourge for the country : the price of a daily paper is now 0 fr.60 !

Lastly, Sivas is becoming one of the principal centres for cement.

But it is not sufficient to construct factories to make Turkey self-sufficient. It is necessary also, to deliver her completely from servitude to foreigners, to take over by degrees the different monopolies of the capitalists. It is this which the State has undertaken to do in the shortest possible time. It buys out foreign concessionaires ; thus the whole of the railways in Asia Minor and Thrace now belong to the State. It is now acquiring the electricity, telephone and water monopolies. . . . Do not forget that Turkey is par excellence the land of monopolies, which cover all economic activities. Now the principal aim of the Government is to become the sole possessor of these. Next it will assume control of all mining enterprises.

Turkey is rich in mineral resources ; these include coal, gold, copper, iron, tin, lead, and mercury and many other minerals. These resources which are far from being developed, will one day provide a flourishing industry and admit of a large exportation. It seems the region Eregli-Zongouldak will be able to

supply enough oil for the whole Mediterranean Basin. Finally, there are in Anatolia as many as twenty petroliferous regions, forty outcrops of manganese, a hundred lead and as many chrome mines. Much foreign capital, French, German and Belgian, is sunk in Turkish mines. However, Turkish Companies are being organized which, with the help of the State, will buy up and exploit many of these mines.

Thus, by means of a vast and methodical economic programme, Turkey will soon become as powerful in industry as she is in agriculture, capable of rivalling other nations, and completely independent.

IX

Franco-Turkish Economic Relations

OUR relations with Turkey are cordial. There is nothing that divides us from the point of view of general politics, such as the Mediterranean equilibrium, the Balkan Pact or the *status quo* in Asia. But this perfect community of view has not produced tangible results in the economic sphere.

The exchanges between the two countries are regulated by the Commercial Treaty and Clearing Agreement signed at Ankara on the 15th June, 1937. The chief points in these negotiations are :

The commercial exchanges between the two countries are arranged in two ways : by private compensation and a general clearing agreement.

All Turkish products in the list of articles which can be imported into France will be subject to private compensation in the course of future transactions. Nevertheless, all the Turkish merchandise which is permitted to enter France, may at the same time be used to regulate clearing payments. The last convention of August, 1935, which has just expired, provided for this end a distinction between merchandise, according to its nature. This new principle will no doubt contribute to commercial relations between the two nations.

Turkish essence of roses and certain articles of French

perfumery will benefit respectively from the mutual transfer of debits and credits. Exchange as regards Turkish exports will be settled in free currency in the proportion of 35% which will be placed at the disposal of the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic.

The term of the treaty is for two years, it will be prolonged automatically for another year, unless it is denounced by one of the contracting parties two months before it is due to expire.

These agreements come into force on the 1st July, 1937. Let us hope it will revive Franco-Turkish trade. Actually, the balance of trade, which was in favour of Turkey before 1923, has declined sharply against her since the signing of the *modus vivendi*. The quotas applied in France and the exorbitant licence tax which affect particularly the importation of dried vegetables and fruits have entailed a continued diminution of Turkish imports, which have fallen from about ten to one million a month. France, however, being a creditor of Turkey is concerned in assuring the service of the debt by her exports. The young Republic makes the most laudable efforts in this direction; thus the Ich Bank and the Bank of Agriculture have been engaged in forming a Company for the export of figs and grapes to France, against the blocked French credits with the Central Bank of the Republic. The frozen capital thus made disposable should reach two millions of Turkish pounds.

It is then desirable that the French authorities responsible—those of the Republic have not ceased to show their goodwill—should endeavour to enlarge

the circle of our transactions by assuring for them the maximum of development with the maximum facilities. It would be very regrettable if France were to destroy, through her own fault, the efforts and traditions of several centuries of business relations with Turkey. We ought not to forget indeed, that if France, during the XVIth, XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, had almost a monopoly of trade in the Levant, it was due to Turkey. It is quite time that France recovered her self-possession and forgot the terrible shock caused by the loss of her privileges. She must decide to take up her task again not by trying to reconstruct that which has been destroyed but by adapting herself to the new conditions. Kemalist Turkey does not want any more privileges, interference, tutelage or foreign influence ; but she accepts loyally all collaboration which will assist her national renovation. The Soviet Republic and Germany have long held a place of honour in Turkey in the aid furnished by Europe to the young Republic. Great Britain, in her turn, by a sudden change in her oriental policy, understands it is in her interest to make overtures to Turkey. The negotiation of the Straits Convention which assures to Turkey her rights in the Dardenelles, seals the establishment of friendly Anglo-Turk relations and opens the way to a period of co-operation between the two countries. The visit of Edward VIII to Atatürk in September, 1936, has solemnly consecrated the establishment of these relations. The new Anglo-Turk commercial agreement has already given excellent results. Great

Britain is preparing to play a big role in Turkish economy ; perhaps even, we are soon going to see a British, German and Russian rivalry. A mission composed of representatives of the big industries and finance has gone to Turkey to study the possibilities of collaboration by the British in the execution of the Turkish industrial plan.

On the other hand, Mr. Sommerville, President of the British delegation to the International Parliamentary conference, has made a long stay at Ankara, to study there the construction of quarters of villas with gardens in the large towns of Turkey, by an English financial group. It is also important to note that the journey of the previous Turkish President of the Council to England, for the coronation of George VI, has likewise helped to consolidate Anglo-Turk friendly relations.

Meanwhile will France continue to remain sullenly apart ? The following table shows clearly how Franco-Turkish trade is diminishing :—

1923–1936 (in thousands of Ltqs.)

Year	*Imports*	*Exports*	*Difference*	Percentage in terms of total Turkish exports.
1923	13,229	10,504	— 2,725	10.8
1924	18,302	18,786	+ 484	10.1
1925	26,957	24,040	— 2,917	11.6
1926	32,097	22,645	— 9,452	12.9
1927	29,173	16,911	—14,242	12.2
1928	29,169	18,452	—10,717	11.8
1929	26,690	19,618	— 7,072	11.5
1930	15,499	18,457	— 2,958	11.3
1931	12,788	12,156	— 632	9.8
1932	7,190	7,820	— 630	8.0
1933	4,903	6,182	— 1,279	6.9
1934	6,440	2,809	— 3,631	5.2
1935	4,184	3,040	— 1,144	3.9
1936	2,335	3,828	— 1,493	2.9

X

Conclusion

WE have attempted to portray in this modest work what the Kemalists have achieved, too briefly alas ! for there is material enough for a considerable volume. In no way affected by Western prejudices, we have sought to understand and study the real feelings, conceptions and aspirations which animate our friends the Turks. In the course of our enquiries in Turkey we have witnessed the lamentable decline of French prestige and we have thought it advisable to call attention to it once again ! We have tried to eradicate, as far as possible, the false notions which are current in Europe, and particularly in France, about the Turkish Republic. It will be our best recompense if only a little attention is paid to our remarks. And we end by expressing a wish that this vow of Atatürk will be completely realized : " We will raise our fatherland to the level of the most prosperous and civilized country in the world."

XI

Historical Chronology of the Turkey of Atatürk[1]

19th May, 1919.—Mustafa Kemal at Samsun.

23rd July, 1919.—Opening of The Erzeroum Congress.

4th September, 1919.—Opening of the Sivas Congress.

7th September, 1919.—Founding of " The Society for the Defence of the Rights of Anatolia and Roumelia."

27th December, 1919.—Mustafa Kemal at Ankara.

16th March, 1920.—Military occupation of Istanbul by the Allies.

23rd April, 1920.—Inauguration of the Grand National Assembly at Ankara.

24th April, 1920.—Mustafa Kemal elected President of the Grand National Assembly.

9th January, 1921.—First battle of Inonü.

20th January, 1921.—Adoption of the Organic Statute.

8th February, 1921.—The town of Ayntab receives the name of Gaziayntab.

16th March, 1921.—Conclusion of the Treaty of Moscow between Turkey and Russia.

30th March, 1921.—Second battle of Inonü.

5th August, 1921.—Mustafa Kemal elected to the Supreme Command.

[1] This comprises only the principal events.

23rd August, 1921.—Commencement of the great battle of Sakarya.

19th September, 1921.—The Grand National Assembly bestows the title of Gazi (victorious) on Mustafa Kemal and the grade of Marshall.

13th October, 1921.—Conclusion of the Treaty of Kars between Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

20th October, 1921.—The Franco-Turk Agreement of Ankara.

31st July, 1922.—Creation of the Tribunals of Independence.

26th August, 1922.—Grand Offensive on the Afyon front.

30th August, 1922.—Battle of Doumloupinar.

1st September, 1922.—The Gazi issues his historic order to his army: "Armies, your first goal is the Mediterranean, Forward!"

9th September, 1922.—Turkish army enters Smyrna.

11th October, 1922.—Armistice of Mudania.

1st November, 1922.—Abolition of the Sultanate.

11th August, 1923.—Treaty of Lausanne.

24th July, 1923.—Foundation of the People's Party.

9th August, 1923.—Meeting of the 2nd Grand Assembly.

2nd October, 1923.—Istanbul freed from the Allied occupation.

6th October, 1923.—Triumphant entry of the Turkish army into Istanbul.

13th October, 1923.—Ankara made the Capital of the Turkish State.

29th October, 1923.—Proclamation of the Republic. Gazi Mustafa Kemal elected President of the Republic.

30th October, 1923.—Creation of the Council of Ministers, of which the President takes the name of "First Minister."

1st March, 1924.—The State commences the construction of railways.

2nd March, 1924.—Abolition of the Khalifate.

3rd March, 1924.—Abolition of the "Medresses." Members of the Dynasty are expatriated.

20th April, 1924.—Elaboration of the laws of the Organic Statute.

26th August, 1924.—Founding of the Commercial Bank (Ich Bankasi).

10th November, 1924.—The People's Party takes the name of the "Republican Party of the People."

24th August, 1925.—Adoption of the European hat.

5th November, 1925.—Inauguration of the Faculty of Law of Ankara.

30th November, 1925.—Closing of the Tekkes, Turbes and Convents.

26th December, 1925.—Adoption of the international time and calendar.

17th February, 1926.—Adoption of the Turkish Civil Code.

13th March, 1926.—Adoption of the Turkish Penal Code.

28th May, 1926.—Law for the encouragement of industry.

28th June, 1926.—Adoption of the Turkish Commercial Code.

3rd October, 1926.—Erection of the first statue in Turkey (that of the Gazi at Saray Bournou in Istanbul).

15th October, 1927.—Second Congress of the People's Party.

15th-20th October, 1927.—Great historical speech of the Gazi.

28th October, 1927.—First census of the people in Turkey.

1st November, 1927.—Second Grand National Assembly.

1st January, 1928.—Purchase of the Anatolian railway.

24th May, 1928.—Adoption of the international figures.

3rd October, 1928.—Adoption of the Latin characters.

23rd March, 1931.—Primary education obligatory for Turkish children.

1st April, 1931.—Adoption of the metric system.

15th April, 1931.—Foundation of the "Society of Turkish Historical Studies."

10th May, 1931.—Third Congress of the People's Party.

19th February, 1932.—Opening of the "People's Houses."

12th July, 1932.—Founding of the "Society of Turkish Linguistic Study."

26th September, 1932.—Grand Linguistic Conference.

25th May, 1933.—Settlement of the question of foreign debts.

1st August, 1933.—The former "Darufulnoun" in Istanbul replaced by the "University of Turkey."

1934.—Gazi Mustafa Kemal, following the promulgation of a law compelling the Turks to take a "family name," assumes that of "Atatürk" (father of the Turks) and the "prenom" of Kamâl (the fortress).

20th October, 1935.—Census gives total population of Turkey as 16,188,767.

20th July, 1936.—Signing of the new "Straits Convention" at Montreux, which gives Turkey full powers in the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.

26th January, 1937.—Franco-Turk Agreement signed at Geneva concerning the status of Hatay.

5th February, 1937.—The G.N.A. votes modifications of the "Organic Statute," incorporating the six principles of the People's Party.

29th May, 1937.—The Council of the League of Nations ratifies the Franco-Turk agreement which recognizes the independence of the Sanjak of Alexandretta now forming the State of Hatay.

12th June, 1937.—Atatürk presents all his country estates to the Nation.

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